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business of putting out fires will be left to those who are paid to do it. The great point is, after all, to secure for the service men who will use such apparatus, and distribute it in such a manner, as will produce the best results.

During the last two years a great many ingenious contrivances have been introduced for the speedy extinguishment of fires; but it would exceed the limits of this article to attempt any description of them. In order to stimulate invention in the proper direction, the National Board of Underwriters should organize a standing commission, composed of competent engineers, to test the various kinds of apparatus in use or proposed, and report from time to time upon their efficiency. The commission would also be able to perform a great public service by establishing general rules for the management of fire departments, the preparation of statistics of fires, and a standard for hose and hydrant couplings.

JAMES M. BUGBEE.

ART. V. — *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, in Cambridge, Massachusetts.* By JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY, M. A., Librarian of Harvard University, and Member of the Massachusetts and other Historical Societies. Vol. I. 1642–1658. With an Appendix, containing an Abstract of the Steward's Accounts, and Notices of Non-Graduates, from 1649–50 to 1659. Cambridge: Charles William Sever, University Bookstore. 1873.

At the right time, and eminently from the pen of the most, if we might not say the only, competent person for the accomplishing of it, Harvard College, as she graduates her two hundred and thirty-second class of alumni, receives from her diligent Librarian this labor of his love. Up to this year the number of her graduates, classified on the Triennial Catalogue, was 11,553. Of these, almost half, as the solemn and suggestive note reads, *E vivis cesserunt stelligeri*. Of ninety-eight of these who have been the longest among the stars, and who were the first to receive the rude yet tender nursing

of the wilderness College, and to lead off, with honor and love, the line that is to follow them, we have here the memorials in adequate biographical sketches. So much time has spared to us. So much a diligence and a devotion for which there is no reward but in the love which prompted them have gathered and gleaned for us from the search through more than a third of a century into all the nooks and hiding-places of history.

Mr. Sibley has special and eminent qualifications for the task which he has here undertaken. Though the College numbers among its alumni many who take a fond pride in its history, and would gladly search out every historic fact relating to it, and though the taste and skill for such investigations characterize a fair proportion of our studious men, it may be fairly affirmed that no ten persons among us, combining their labors and resources, could have so faithfully or successfully accomplished the work which he has performed. Pecuniary compensation is of course out of the question. This is one of those labors in which the pleasure of congenial toil must offset the outlay of time and all the incidental expenses incurred by journeys, correspondence, the collection of materials, and the remuneration of helpers. More than a score of years ago Mr. Sibley gave proof that he possessed all the best qualities of an intelligent, accomplished, and painstaking investigator, in his "History of the Town of Union, Maine," the place of his birth. This is a model work of its kind, for authenticity, distribution of subjects, exhaustiveness of details, and vivacity and perspicuity of style. Having been appointed Assistant Librarian at Harvard in 1841, and Librarian in 1856, he has ever since been accumulating materials and maturing a wise and apt method for his present work. He has had at hand a large part of the books and papers containing the information he has needed, and he has had the training and practice which have taught him where to look for what he desired from outside sources. He for the first time edited the Triennial Catalogue in 1842, as it had never been edited before; and ten times since the successive issues of that ever-interesting and expanding publication, so eagerly sought for by the graduates, have shown more and more of the fruits of his diligence. Obituary dates were for the first time attached by him to the names in the Trien-

nial in 1845. When the late Professor Sidney Willard, in 1855, was preparing for the press his "Memories of Youth and Manhood," Mr. Sibley, in answer to his request, addressed to him a letter, printed in the Appendix to that work, giving full particulars about the measures adopted by himself for collecting and preserving materials for biographies of the graduates of the University. The system thus instituted has been very effective for recent years. But the ascertaining of the true dates to be affixed to the star-bearing names of the deceased graduates for nearly the whole of the first two centuries of the College has been a task which very few persons would have cared to assume. Mr. Sibley wrote, in 1855, that for that purpose he had then examined "with great care several thousand volumes, and probably more than twenty thousand pamphlets."

The coming to the light of a Treasurer's old College account-book and the discovery in an office in London of an early and unique catalogue of graduates were occasions which prompted and furnished Mr. Sibley with material to communicate to the Massachusetts Historical Society, for its Proceedings in 1862 and 1864, two very valuable papers of curious information. And while he has been faithfully fulfilling his official duties as Librarian in the College, gathering from all sources, largely by personal application, treasures new and old for shelf and cabinet, and continuing and perfecting the improved system of cataloguing by cards, he has given his few spare hours, principally of the night, and in his own home, to the unwearied exacting toil of preparing these biographical sketches.

The laborious but congenial task to which Librarian Sibley has devoted himself can hardly fail to suggest to his more appreciative readers the name of old Anthony a Wood and his *Athenæ Oxonienses*. Nor is this by any means a comparison of small with great things. On the contrary, both for the general subject and for the details which enter into its treatment, we should be disposed to claim for our Cambridge historiographer an equal merit and dignity in his theme, and a relatively equal importance in the men and their accomplishments set forth in his pages. Strip the scholars, prelates, and placemen commemorated in the Oxford folios of all their adventitious and impersonal consequence derived from their con-

nection with the social and ecclesiastical privileges accruing to them, and they themselves will stand forth as no more than the peers of many of our Cambridge graduates. And as to the works, the life labors in literature, which Wood with such elaborate minuteness has set down after the names of those who can be called authors, it would appear from his pages that very many of these were still in manuscript when he mentioned them, and have never yet emerged from that condition, even if still extant. And how few among all that attained to the honor of print have a living interest, or are worth the paper used to put them into books! As we have recently turned over the pages of those two folios, amplified by Bliss into four quartos, we have had a new reminder of De Quincey's ingenious speculations and estimates about the number of all the mountain heaps of books which are worth reading, of the proportion of them that any one would be likely to read, and how many among them all one would be the wiser or better for reading. Wood, covering a period of less than two centuries, gives us the names and the titles of the works or writings of nearly one thousand Oxford alumni. He tells us of his own natural proclivities, taste, and aptness, even from his boyhood, for the dry and almost mechanical task to which he devoted a long life. Unmarried, with no fondness for women or children, no inclination for social pleasures, he made himself a recluse, and, in fact, a literary hermit. He lived very frugally, depending on his own moderate patrimony. His intercourse with his fellow-men was mostly by correspondence for obtaining information, though he allowed himself occasionally to share the hospitality of a few tolerant persons who were in possession of documents which he wished to examine. He occupied a den in a tower-garret of Merton College, with the materials of his toil heaped around him, which no profane hand was allowed to touch for the sake of dusting or arranging them. He would shuffle out in a seedy array to take his exercise when the highways and lanes were deserted, and drop into an alehouse or a victualling-shop to satisfy his appetite, which was neither craving nor fastidious. He would go to any distance to hunt out from memorial windows, from sepulchral stones or brasses, and from parish registers anything which his mousing diligence could

turn to service for his *Athenæ* or his *Fasti*. His *Antiquitates* were first published in 1674; his *Athenæ*, in 1691. He himself records, under date of 1694, that, at a festival in Trinity College, the Senior Proctor, Altham, spoke "dishonorably of the historiographer of Oxford, by calling him *scurra* and *calumniator*; one that in his late book he published, spoke of the vices and omitted the virtues of men; that he had Lynceus his eyes, prying and peeping as a spy. This was to please his dean, Dr. Aldrich, then vice-chancellor, who sat just behind him, and who beforehand had taken part with the Earl of Clarendon."

The reference in the last line is to the prosecution of Wood by the Earl Henry Hyde, for the charge of bribery in the *Athenæ* against his father, Edward, the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. The poor antiquarian was for this banished for a season from the University, and mulcted in a fine of £ 40,—the amount being appropriated to the purchase of three statues for niches to the Physic Garden.

The sharp and bitter sentence which the aforesaid Senior Proctor pronounced against Wood may be taken as significant and characteristic of the general judgment expressed concerning him by many who have been indebted to his labors. But it is manifestly unjust. Wood has received but scant returns of appreciation for his priceless toil and his immense diligence of research. He was, indeed, somewhat morose and querulous, as all such musty delvers in things the greater part of which might better be forgotten are apt to be. He affected a quaint and piquant plainness, and sometimes severity, in tone. He lived through distracted times, when his conservatism in matters of Church and State caused him much wretchedness. He was horrified and disgusted by the inquisitorial and revolutionary dealing with the Universities. He hated the non-conformists. He was accused of being secretly a papist; which, however, he was not, for he lived and died in communion with the English Church, partook of its last sacrament, and avowed his love of it in his will. But he sprinkled his pages liberally with the spice and pepper of his dislikes and prejudices towards individuals, and he knew how to use his sting to avenge an indignity or an insult to himself. When towards his last days the old man was crawling out suffering under the torments of

the malady — a suppression of the contents of the bladder — which brought him to his end, he met with Dr. South. To the inquiry of that famous and sharp-tongued wit, as to what ailed him, he frankly defined his trouble. Dr. South replied “that if he could not make water, he must make earth.” This ungracious and unsympathizing reminder of the certainty and nearness of his doom touched the irritability of the antiquarian, and it is said that he went at once to his den, and wrote out that not complimentary sketch of Dr. South which appears in the *Athenæ*.

But considering Wood's intense dislike of the non-conformists, such of them as he, in common with Mr. Sibley, has to mention, because of their connection alike with our Cambridge and the English Oxford, have but little to complain of from his pen. He himself avowed that he found it difficult to obtain, at first hand, information about non-conformist scholars and their works. They, on the other hand, were not inclined to put themselves at his mercy. Hearne, in his account of Wood, speaks of “the three sorts of men with whom he held converse by letters.” Two of these were “those of the Church of England” and the Roman Catholics. The third class, he adds, were “the non-conformists, from one or two of which, of learning and candor, the author was much informed. But the generality of this sort of men, whilst under a cloud of persecution, as they call it, were very shy and jealous of imparting what was inquired concerning their writers, not knowing what use might be made of such communications to their disadvantage. If, therefore, what is said of their writers seem less satisfactory, the author is not to be blamed, having been forced to be silent of some of their writers, or else to use testimonies of them from those of another persuasion.”

The Mathers, especially, were treated with fulness and impartiality by Wood. Happily Mr. Sibley has been able to explain this fact to us. When President Increase Mather was in London, in 1690, as agent of Massachusetts after the Colony charter had been vacated, he there became acquainted with old Anthony, who asked and received from him information that was desired concerning some non-conformist writers. Wood returned the courtesy by sending Dr. Mather a presentation

copy of his *Athenæ*. This copy, on being sold at auction in Boston, in 1869, was found to contain two manuscript letters of Wood to Mather, which Mr. Sibley copies. Wood accepts the offer which Mather makes him of New England books, and adds, "Why do you not give me an account of yourself, that I may bring that in when I speak of your father? In the last term catalogue I saw the title of a book by you published." Wood certainly writes as a gentleman in these letters, and avows his desire to be catholic and impartial in his memorials. "I must collect all," he says, "whether conformists or non-conformists, papists or of any other religion; I am not to look upon them or esteem them as to their opinions or writings, but only as they are writers." Mr. Sibley has given much fuller and more particular information concerning the persons with whom he has to deal in common with old Anthony.

There were, at one time, in the neighborhood of Harvard College, intimations, not to say apprehensions, that the work, which Mr. Sibley has wrought with such ability, thoroughness, and appreciative kindness of spirit and judgment, was to be undertaken by a son of the College who had some striking affinities of character, temper, and experience with old Anthony Wood. The late Mr. Jonathan Peele Dabney, who graduated in 1811, and died in 1868, hung around the old College halls for the most part during the whole interval of years between those dates. He was neither married nor fond of the fruits of marriage of other persons. In look and garb, in habits of life, and sometimes in his speech and in his views of life, he showed the lack of those specialties in his aspect, ways, doings, and sentiments which the scholar especially needs to humanize and harmonize him. It was understood that he was collecting materials for memoirs of at least a portion of the graduates of the College. Whether they have been preserved, or what may be their extent or value, we are not informed.

All the recent alumni of Harvard, and all of earlier date who have retained a connection with and a living interest in it, will accord in the judgment that of all its sons, alive or at rest, Mr. Sibley could most adequately and impartially perform the grateful task that came into and has now come from his hands. Besides those primary qualities of research, thoroughness, care

for accuracy, and mastery of the field, which were so necessary and essential, he has no partialities, prejudices, or personal bias to indulge. His aim has evidently been to serve the high cause of truth in history and biography; to be just, candid, considerate, and kindly, as well as discriminating.

We will now digest some of the details that demand notice after our examination of this volume, and then enlarge upon a few of the incidental subjects which its contents suggest with chief interest. This is a first volume of what we hope will prove a series from the same pen. It is understood that the materials for other volumes in various stages of completeness are in hand. Indeed, the circumstances under which this has been prepared, and the researches which it has required, have necessarily covered the field which is only to be more systematically wrought to fill out the series of volumes. But in thus glibly speaking of our anticipations, and of the means for realizing them, we must assure the author that we are not unmindful of the toil which the fulfilment will exact from him.

Mr. Sibley tells us that he began collecting the materials for his book in 1842, which was just two hundred years after the first class graduated from the College. This was done by him on his reluctant acceptance of the appointment by the President and Fellows to edit the Triennial Catalogue. Though no one before him had even undertaken what he has accomplished, some four or five persons had contributed fragmentary and imperfect information in interleaved catalogues. These were obtained by Mr. Sibley, and gradually a method was developed by him for searching through documents in print and in manuscript, through a wide correspondence and the most extended inquiries for obtaining and verifying facts. His method, so far as it concerned the times and records of the long past, was amplified and supplemented by arrangements and devices to secure from all living graduates, and from the members of the successive classes while in College, their own personal contributions, to be carefully arranged and preserved in the library, so that the work which has cost him so much labor for the earliest alumni may be facilitated for any one who may at any future time continue his memorials. The materials which Mr. Sibley had, and the method just referred to,

are described at length in his Preface. There is a paragraph in this Preface which contains the only boastful or laudatory utterance about the College in which Mr. Sibley indulges himself. We write those epithets, *boastful* or *laudatory*, not because we should allow their fitness in the case, but because they might be used by some to characterize the passing encomium upon the author's Alma Mater. For ourselves, we regard this encomium as just and moderate even, in view of the facts. Summing up the effect on his own convictions and feelings of his keen research into the lives and characters of the dead, and of his intimate acquaintance with the careers of so many of the living graduates, the author writes: —

“Going back to the early classes, I observed that several of the members went abroad and took an important part in public affairs in Europe. Of those who remained in this country, nearly all, from the great respect entertained for scholars and clergymen, exerted a commanding influence; and most of the offices of honor and trust were filled by them. They originated or urged forward the ideas and principles on which our government now rests, and which, in their expansion, are to-day agitating the world, and ameliorating the condition of mankind. Their lives and the history of the country were so interwoven that the knowledge of both is necessary to the proper understanding of either. There is probably no instance in history where the same number of young men, taken indiscriminately from various classes of society, and trained under the same auspices, have afterward, in their various spheres, exerted greater influence on the politics, morals, religion, thought, and destiny of the world than the early graduates of Harvard University. The institution itself was always in advance of public sentiment. . . . Graduates opposed to religious intolerance and exclusiveness, and to political oppression, were constantly conspicuous as champions of progress in religious and legislative bodies and in popular assemblies,” etc., etc.

An Introduction, which we wish might have been more extended, gives us very concisely the principal facts concerning the votes and measures of the General Court of the Colony in founding and first administering the College, with extracts from the public records and from a very valuable tract printed in London, in 1643, which is largely occupied with the affairs of the College, and with an account of the first Commencement. Our own inquiries and researches satisfied us years since with

a conclusion which we have seen no reason to qualify or change, that though the Court of the Colony deserves all the praise that it has received for voting a sum of money equal to one year's amount of the tax or rate levied for public charges, for the noble enterprise of planting the College in the wilderness, where all was then poor and rude, yet the institution was really established, as it has ever since been sustained, mainly by private individual beneficence. John Harvard was more than the godfather of the College. We doubt whether a class would have graduated from it in 1642, if his death, in 1638, had not put into its treasury a sum at least double of that which the Court had voted. We have our misgivings, likewise, whether the original vote of the Court took effect according to its terms.

A most scandalous and humiliating discomfiture attended the first year of the life of the College, connected with the utter unworthiness of the man to whose charge its first pupils had been confided. This was Nathaniel Eaton. As we find his name used oftener without than with the prefix of *Reverend*, we prefer to omit it here. Happily he had not reached the honor of being called President, — Dunster being the first head of the institution so designated. While under Eaton's charge, and in the proceedings necessarily taken against him, it is called a school, and he is called a schoolmaster. Some of the scholars boarded with him. He was a tyrant, a hypocrite, and a defaulter to every obligation ; seeming to possess a passion for cruelty. His wife was a slattern and a vixen ; and, in her domestic oversight of the boys who boarded and lodged with her she was stingy, unfeeling, and even something worse. The pair more than realized, in actual life and conduct, the worst characteristics of the establishment of Mr. and Mrs. Squeers, at Dotheboys' Hall. The proceedings against Eaton and his wife are on record in our State House, and the files of court or legislature all the world over could scarcely furnish documents of a more extraordinary tenor. Eaton was convicted, and finally brought to the confession of brutality in his punishments ; and his consort, on her part, also confessed to deficiencies and offences in her table arrangements, which leave us in doubt whether the husband or the wife was the more odious character of the two.

Eaton managed, by trickery and flight, to escape from the righteous judgment of the Church and the magistrates; and his subsequent career abroad never retrieved his shameful course here. The letters of the time contain many references to what Governor Endecott describes as "his base cariadges," and to "the great sommes of money" constituting his indebtedness to the many victims of his hypocrisy. There is a letter extant addressed to Governor Winthrop, by a poor waif of a youth named Nathaniel Rowe, who says he was sent from England to this country by his father "verie hastelie and overmuch inconsiderately." He adds that he fell under the charge of Eaton, "to be instructed in the rudiments of the Lattine tongue. I lived with him about a moneth, and verily in that space he spake not one word to mee, *scilicet*, about my learninge, and after he went awaie, I lived an idle life, because I had noe instructor." But more cheerily he goes on: "This last half yeare [1641] hath binne spent in receiveing instructiones frome Mr. Dunster, whoe (blessed be God for it) hath biene a guide to leade mee onne in the waie of hummane literature, and alsoe in divine."

Eaton was a younger brother of that honored and revered man, Theophilus Eaton, a founder of the colony of New Haven, its first governor in 1639, and re-elected as such till his death, in 1658. Writing to Governor Winthrop, in 1640, he thus refers, with touching sadness and mortification, to his brother's course: "I can neither write, nor indeede thinke of my brother's miscariages without grieffe and shame. He who searcheth the heart knew what sapp ranne within when the fairest leaves appeared outwardly, but his late, and I feare present fruite hath bin exceeding bitter, and his state the more dangerous, because I feare he is but a little sensible of it, besides much dishonour to the great name of God. I heare he hath bin very injurious to sundrie men, the particulers I fully understand not, nor as yett how farr my self am interested in his sinfull projects, &c."

But there was a vigor in the seed which had been planted, and a patient, resolute, and ever-hopeful devotion and perseverance in the hands and hearts of those who fostered its germ and its growth, which have fulfilled in the College the Scripture

parable of the mustard-seed. We think that there is no parallel case to be quoted in all history in which the original and feeble first agents in any noble human enterprise, that has developed and flourished into full and proud success, ever had in view, from the first, so clear a regard to the welfare of their posterity, with a fixed assurance that what cost them so much and returned them so little would prove the richest of blessings to unnumbered generations, as did the founders of Harvard College. Many "colleges" have since been planned and started in the United States,—a great many more than will ever attain to a first century of their existence. There are "universities," also, which are at present struggling in the stages of preparatory and high-school and academy life. Some of these have been founded with degrees of the same nobleness of purpose, and far-reaching regard to the welfare of coming generations, in like straits of poverty, lowliness, and self-denial, as characterized the planting of Harvard. Many more of them are the offspring of sectarian zeal, and depend upon limitations and exclusiveness for what they have of vitality. Of late years a few men who have accumulated enormous wealth have at their own separate charges founded colleges to bear their own names. Harvard still leads the line in wealth and in stability, and is yet the youngest in vigor and expansiveness.

Before following the course of Mr. Sibley's pages, we are prompted to dwell upon one or two matters which his volume suggests, though he could not afford space to pursue them.

One of the most interesting incidental points connected with the founding and the early years of the College is that which concerns the efforts made in it for the thorough training of Indian youth. It is true that the name of only one Indian graduate appears on the catalogue of the alumni of the College. But this can by no means be admitted to be a fair index of the actual facts in the case, nor even of the results, unsatisfactory and disappointing as on the whole they were, of the aims had in view, and of the ends reached by the founders and friends of the institution in behalf of the aborigines. On the contrary, it may well be believed that every additional particular of information bearing upon this subject that comes to our knowl-

edge, from diaries and original records, gives us new evidence that, for a time at least, the earnest and devout men of the wilderness Colony divided their care equally between the Indian and the English youth of that generation. Certain it is that the first substantial building reared within the College grounds, the costliest and the strongest, was a brick edifice known as the "Indian College." It is a fact, likewise, that many of the English youth in the College, while mastering in their course the classic and the sacred tongues, were devotedly engaged in learning the barbarous language of the natives. Quite a number of the first graduates who became ministers of the constantly multiplying churches of the jurisdiction qualified themselves to preach and pray in Indian, and to aid in the labors of the press, which were soon pursued in the Indian College, in translating primers, grammars, and tracts, for the use of the natives. The stupendous, and, we must add, the profitless and wellnigh fruitless task of turning the whole Bible into Indian was an enterprise which could hardly have been accomplished without help from the resources of the College, scanty as they then were. Indeed, that accomplished work, with all its incidental requisitions, toils, and sacrifices, and, especially in the purpose and motive of piety which prompted and which alone could have carried it through, may justly be set forth as a full offset to the saddening and harrowing pages of our history of the wastings and desolations of the natives on this soil, as the white men extended their occupancy. The personal discomforts, privations, and actual sufferings endured by such men as Eliot, Gookin, the Mayhews, Cotton of Plymouth, and others, in their converse with the Indians, not having been fully set forth by either or all of them in detail, because of the singleness of spirit and fidelity with which they were readily encountered, can hardly now be adequately recalled by any efforts of our imaginations. To share by day and night the filthy sties which we call wigwams, to come in contact with the unsavory and vermin-covered inmates, to partake of their disgusting food, unwashed, uncooked, unsalted, served generally on a chip or a piece of bark, and with the utensils of nature, and in doing all this not to wound the savage's pride of hospitality, — these were but the external conditions of the un-

dertaking. To catch the guttural utterances of the host and his squaw, to establish a mental or spiritual relation with them in order to discover their range of impressions and ideas as related to or expressed by their grunts and their sign language, to master the method of nature's grammar, and to learn the law, if there was one, of the augments and inflections and compositions of words, some of which Cotton Mather thought had been growing in length ever since the confusion of tongues at Babel, — these were conditions in which the pupils found no help in any such resources as Max Müller has recently furnished for more favored pupils. To reduce this Indian language to writing, to be transferred to type, and then, in its poverty of terms and the narrowness of its range as a vocabulary answering to the inertness and limited activity of the savage mind, to find words as equivalents for those in the Hebrew, Greek, and English Scriptures, were other exactions of the enterprise. That the translators managed, in a way which even to any extent satisfied themselves, to find in, or to put into, the articulate speech of these children of the woods terms equivalent to those used in describing the tabernacle and the Levitical services, in conveying the figurative burdens of the Hebrew prophets, and in setting forth the technical phraseology of the letters of St. Paul, whence has come the metaphysical theology which has distracted Christendom, is a marvel the depths of which no one now living can fully sound. Perhaps Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull can cast a plummet deeper into it than any other of our scholars. It would indeed be a curious, if not a profitable task, for a skilful linguist to offer to us an illustrative essay of the way and means by which the Nonantum chief, Waban, Eliot's favorite convert, was "seasoned in the divinity" of the great Apostle, and instructed in the ritualism of the children of Israel. These were lively subjects for the first students of Harvard College. But we are not aware that any "Examination Papers" relating to them are now extant.

When Edward Winslow of Plymouth was in London in 1649, as agent of that and the Bay colonies, he by his solicitations induced the Parliament to incorporate a society for the educating and evangelizing of the Indians. It was with means and help furnished by this society from the first, and afterwards

by its renewal and more perfect organization under Charles II., that the College was enabled to direct so much of its early zeal into a channel of simple benevolence. Everything that aided to make the infant seminary a centre and fountain of educational activity gave assurance of its promise of permanence and expansion.

The single-hearted and devoted Daniel Gookin, of Cambridge, who had been commissioned by the General Court of the Colony to govern and oversee the Indians, completed his Historical Collections concerning his work and the subjects of it in 1674, and dedicated them to Charles II. The manuscript was not put into print until 1792. Gookin offers to the king the following, as a piece of cheering information : —

“ One thing falls in here fitly to be spoken of, as a means intended for the good of the Indians, which was the erecting a house of brick at Cambridge, in New England, which passeth under the name of the Indian College. It is a structure strong and substantial, though not very capacious. It cost between three and four hundred pounds. It is large enough to receive and accommodate about twenty scholars, with convenient lodgings and studies ; but not hitherto hath been much improved for the ends intended, by reason of the death and falling off of Indian scholars. It hath hitherto been principally improved for to accommodate English scholars, and for placing and using a printing-press belonging to the College. This house was built and finished [probably in 1665] at the charge and by the appointment of the Honorable Corporation for propagating the Gospel in New England.”

The Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England had previously, September 5, 1661, in an Epistle Dedicatory to the King, offered to him Eliot's “ Indian Version of the New Testament,” in print from Cambridge, thinking that as he came “ to his crown in peace,” it would greatly gratify him “ that himself should be the first Christian prince, unto whom a work of this nature should be presented and dedicated.”

In this epistle the following summary statement is made of the primary successes of what proved to be a forlorn undertaking : —

“ The other part of our errand hither — that we might be instrumental to spread the light of the gospel, the knowledge of the Son of God, our Saviour, to the poor barbarous heathen — hath been attended

with endeavors and blessing; many of the wild Indians being taught and understanding the doctrine of the Christian religion, and with much affection attending such preachers as are sent to teach them. Many of their children are instructed to write and read; and some of them have proceeded further to attain the knowledge of the Latin and the Greek tongues, and are brought up with our English youth in university learning. There are divers of them that can and do read some parts of the Scripture, and some catechisms which formerly have been translated into their own language."

In the account of expenses sent by the commissioners for the society to the Honorable Robert Boyle, its governor, or president, in September, 1662, among sundry items of charges for books, etc., for Indian pupils, for their teachers in various places, and for two "Indian coats," are these specifications:—

"To diet, clothing, and tutorage of two Indian youths at the College, one year past, with extraordinary expenses at the entrance £ 44. 12. 3. To the schoolmaster at Cambridge [Elijah Corlet], for two Indian youths £ 8. 0. 0."

Writing of the many laborers employed in the various New England settlements "for the education of sundry Indian youths," the commissioners add, in 1662:—

"Two whereof have been, the year past, brought up in the College at Cambridge, where they have good commendations of the President and their tutors for their proficiency in learning. Also two others are at the grammar-school, and two more at the English school where they learn to read and write; one whereof is now fitted for the grammar-school, besides many others that are instructed by schoolmasters in other places to read and write. It hath pleased the Lord to frown upon our endeavors in this kind: taking away by death, at sundry times, six youth or more, upon whom considerable cost had been expended for their education, wherein it very well becometh us and all herein concerned humbly to submit unto His sovereign pleasure."

It thus appears that quite a considerable number of Indian boys were put under preliminary training, most of them in their childhood, with a view to qualifying them for the College course. The expense was heavy, perhaps occasionally relieved by a contribution of beaver-skins from their fathers, or of a day's work from their mothers. Their clothing, food, and

books had all to be furnished them in charity. Gookin says:—

“In truth the design was prudent, noble, and good; but it proved ineffectual to the ends proposed. For several of the said youth died after they had been sundry years at learning, and made good proficiency therein. Others were disheartened and left learning after they were almost ready for the College; and some returned to live among their own countrymen, where some of them are improved for schoolmasters and teachers, unto which they are advantaged by their education.” Others, he says, “pursued various callings. One is a mariner, one a carpenter, one went to England, where he soon died.”

The College catalogue bears the name of only one Indian graduate, Caleb Cheeshahteumuck, in 1665, probably the year in which the Indian College was built. He died the next year. It would seem that but one more of the native stock so nearly completed the College course as almost to have entitled him to appear on the list. The account which Gookin gives, from his personal acquaintance, of these two young men is so interesting and affectionate in its tone that it may well be copied here:—

“I remember but only two of them all that lived in the College at Cambridge; the one named Joel, the other Caleb, both natives of Martha's Vineyard. These two were hopeful young men, especially Joel, being so ripe in learning that he should within a few months have taken his first degree of bachelor of art in the College. He took a voyage to Martha's Vineyard to visit his father and kindred a little before the commencement; but upon his return back in a vessel with other passengers and mariners suffered shipwreck upon the island of Nantucket where the bark was found put on shore; and in all probability the people in it came on shore alive, but afterwards were murdered by some wicked Indians of that place, who, for lucre of the spoil in the vessel, which was laden with goods, thus cruelly destroyed the people in it, for which fault some of those Indians was convicted and executed afterwards. Thus perished our hopeful young prophet Joel. He was a good scholar and a pious man as I judge. I knew him well, for he lived and was taught in the same town where I dwell. I observed him for several years after he was grown to years of discretion to be not only a diligent student, but an attentive hearer of God's word; diligently writing the sermons, and frequenting lectures; grave and sober in his conversation.”

This youth, whose character and sad fate are thus touchingly drawn out for us, was the son of a distinguished Indian convert, in 1649, at Martha's Vineyard, named Hiacoomes. He with his wife and their sons and daughters all embraced the Christian religion, and seem to have been intelligent and consistent in their course of life. Joel was the oldest son. The father and some of the children were honored and successful teachers among the natives.

Gookin adds : —

"The other, called Caleb, not long after he took his degree of bachelor of art, died of a consumption at Charlestown, where he was placed by Mr. Thomas Danforth, who had inspection over him, under the care of a physician in order to his health, where he wanted not for the best means the country could afford, both of food and physic; but God denied the blessing and put a period to his days."

The writer says that consumption was the fatal scourge of the Indian youths that were bred up to school among the English, and that the disease was very common among the Indians themselves.

"I know," he remarks, "some have apprehended other causes of the mortality of these Indian scholars. Some have attributed it unto the great change upon their bodies in respect of their diet, lodging, apparel, studies; so much different from what they were inured to among their own countrymen."

Still, the amiable and unwearied laborer cannot refrain from uttering, in the spirit of his time and fellowship, this lament: —

"These awful providences of God in frustrating the hopeful expectations concerning the learned Indian youth who were designed to be for teachers unto their countrymen, caused great thoughts of heart unto the well-willers and promoters thereof."

The explanations given at the time for the thwarting and disappointing of so much zeal and toil were various. Some judged that God did not see fit to make use of Indian teachers of the Gospel; others that the Indians had got to wait until after the effectual calling of the Jews; others still, that Satan did not mean to yield up the strong hold which he had in his dominion

over the barbarians. But as is always the case, that those who work in any good cause most heroically and painfully keep the best heart of trust under all discomfitures, so says Gookin : —

“Others, whose faith and hope in God was active and vigorous, did conclude that there was nothing more in these providences and remoras than did usually attend and accompany all good designs, tending to the glory of God and salvation of souls.”

The same unrewarded labor for the training of Indian youth has been continued and renewed under varying conditions and circumstances from those days to our own. Zealous and self-denying teachers, with intelligent and discreet methods, have faithfully tried to offset some of the wrongs inflicted upon the aborigines, to atone for the blight visited upon their race by civilization with its curses as well as its blessings, to withstand the doom of extinction which has seemed to threaten them, and to provide for them friends, teachers, and protectors of their own blood, by selecting some of the most promising of them in their early years to be trained for those special services of humanity. Corporations and benevolent agencies have been lavishly furnished with funds for that object. There exists to this day in Boston, in continued vitality, holding semi-annual meetings, a corporation succeeding to the old English one, bearing the title of the “Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in destitute Places in North America.” The society, with a tolerably munificent endowment, is glad to avail itself of the generalities embraced in the latter portion of its designation, and in the lack of sufficient and promising sharers of its bounty among the Indians, distributes a large portion of its income for missionaries and school-teachers among the fishermen in lonely places on our sea-coasts and islands. There are, indeed, from time to time, a few Indian boys and girls who receive help and guardianship from it in Western seminaries.

The efforts of the equally zealous emissaries and agencies of the Roman Church have not been one whit more successful in this direction than those of Protestants. It might seem as if the methods of that Church, in its freedom from the metaphysical divinity of Calvinism, and its dramatic and scenical appliances

in worship, would have given it a great advantage for winning converts and disciples among the Indians. And there have been indeed several Roman Catholic stations for mission work among the Indians in Canada which have outlasted any similar enterprises among Protestants. But when we carefully strike the balance and weigh results, there is but little matter of boasting left to either Church. It is remarkable that the rival experiments for the collegiate or academic training of Indian youth were undertaken almost contemporaneously at Cambridge and in Quebec and Montreal. We have taken note of the disappointment at Harvard. There happens to be in the hands of the writer of these pages, as he is engaged upon them, the manuscript of the next book of Mr. Francis Parkman in his admirable series of works on the French colonization, discovery, and dominion in North America. He gives the writer liberty to copy, by anticipation, the following sentence. Referring to the preparatory school which Laval, the Vicar Apostolic of Canada, established in 1668, in connection with the great seminary, now the university bearing the founder's name, Mr. Parkman says that it contained eight French and six Indian pupils, and he adds: "But so far as concerned the Indians, it was a failure. Sooner or later they all ran wild in the woods, carrying with them as fruits of their studies a sufficiency of prayers, offices, and chants, learned by rote, along with a feeble smattering of Latin and rhetoric, which they soon dropped by the way."

The laborious and zealous efforts made for the benefit of the Indians in Massachusetts, at a comparative cost far exceeding that which was spent upon the education of the children of the colonists, were thwarted by a train of melancholy circumstances just at the time when the results were most promising. There were some half a dozen Indian villages prosperously established in the colony, under the subordinate magistracy of native officers, with farming, mechanical, and manufacturing enterprises in hopeful progress, and with churches and schools where Indian preachers and teachers were really doing a good work. But the devastating and desolating warfare which King Philip initiated in 1675, and which came so near to a war of extermination for the whites, brought dismay and ruin on the

humane work then in progress. The converted and semi-civilized Indians under the protection of the whites, during the horrors and apprehensions of the time, were suspected of actual or possible treachery. They were mistrusted, watched, scattered, and then removed in large numbers to our harbor islands ; and whatever of possible hope the future had offered for their real civilization was crushed and abandoned.

The truth must be written that the experiment in their behalf has been always, and under all circumstances, little other than a mortifying and an absolute failure. There seems to be in the blood and fibre, and in the inherited qualities and impulses, of the red man a tenacious and ineradicable preference, where the alternative of civilization is set fully before him, for his own wild ways in the wild woods. We might as well attempt to rid the deer and the sea-fowl of their game flavor as to neutralize this Indian instinct. Our historical records and our present observation fully certify this fact, that a far larger number of whites, French and English, men, women, and children, have on this continent adopted the life and habits of the Indians, by preference, when they have had the opportunity of doing so, than the whole count of converts to European civilization which have ever been drawn from the aboriginal stock.

It seems difficult to ascertain the precise date of the erection of the edifice on the College grounds for the especial use of Indian scholars. Perhaps there was one earlier than the brick building. In 1653 the Commissioners of the United Colonies instructed the members of their body from Massachusetts "to consider and order the building of on Intyre Rome att the Colleage for the conveniencye of six hopfull Indians youthes to bee trained up there according to the advice received this year from the Corporation in England: which Rome may bee two storyes high and built plaine but strong and durable the charge not to exceed £120 besides glasses which may bee allowed out of the parcel the Corporation [in England] hath lately sent over upon the Indian account." In 1654 the Commissioners in a letter to the English Corporation refer to "the building in hand for some Indian Scollers at the Colledge whereof wee wrote the last yeare," and they ask "that allowance may bee

made for Interpretors Schoolmasters and others to Instructe the Tractable Indians." It was afterwards, in the same year, 1654, left to the Commissioners of Massachusetts "to give order for the finishing of the building att the Colledge and to alter the forme agreed upon att the last meeting at Boston, as is desired by the President of the Colledge provided it exceed not thirty foot in length and twenty in breadth," &c. In 1656 President Chauncy had petitioned the Commissioners for liberty "to make use of the Indian Buildings," and it was agreed in answer that he might, with the advice of the Massachusetts Commissioners and Mr. Eliot, "for one year next ensuing Improve the said building to accomodate some English Students provided the said building bee by the Corporation [of the College] ceured from any dammage that may befall the same through the use thereof."

Thomas Stanton had been for many years a famous interpreter for the English in their intercourse with the Indians; and as his two sons gave promise of being of the same good service, the Commissioners provided for their maintenance during their education at Cambridge, that they might be trained for tutors there to Indian pupils; direction was given that they should be received in the College building or in some private house till the Indian College was finished. One of these boys, Thomas, does not appear to have availed himself of the privilege. The other, John, entered the College, and we can follow him through a part of his course by the accounts of disbursements for him. But he did not reach a degree. Indeed he seems to have been more Indian than English in his ways, and was found to to be a most irregular and untoward "schollar." His negligence and misdemeanors were made the subject of grave discussion among his patrons, the Commissioners. At their meeting in September, 1659, they were informed in a letter from the President of the College that this youth on whom they had expended "a considerable sum," in hope of his future service, "doth greatly neglect his Studdy and hath Comitted many other misdemeanors." So they addressed him over all their signatures an admonition, beginning as follows: "John Stanton we have received information from Mr. Chauncye of your Intollarable negligence in your studdyes and of severall

miscarriages which may not be bourn. It cannot but be grievous to reap such fruites of all the cost bestowed, when wee justly have expected a more hopefull harvest," &c. They appeal to him earnestly and sternly to change his course, avowing that only the entreaties of his father induce them to give him a further trial, which they do, under solemn warnings.

We have allowed ourselves to dwell at some length upon this incidental element in our theme, because of our own conviction that the early aims and labors of the founders of Harvard College had a special regard to the civilization and education of the natives, and that this fact has failed of due notice and emphasis in the retrospective references to the history of the institution. The infant seminary opened the doors of its preparatory schools and its own hall on equal and impartial terms to white and red skinned pupils. Many of its earliest graduates found more use for the Indian tongue than for their Latin and Greek. The most substantial and costly building on the College field bore the title of the Indian College. When the twenty native students for whom it was designed for study and lodging-rooms could not be obtained, it was used mainly for printing tracts, primers, catechisms, grammars, and the Bible in the Indian tongue. When it became necessary to remove the building, its original use was still kept in remembrance. The Corporation had voted in November, 1693, that it should be taken down, that another building might be set up. The Commissioners of the society at whose charge it had been erected, at a meeting in Boston in 1695, voted to give the materials of the building towards the construction of another, "provided that if any Indians should afterwards be sent to the College they should have chambers in it free of rent." Judge Sewall makes this record in his Journal for 1698: "In the beginning of this moneth of May, the old Brick Colledge, commonly called the Indian College, is pulled down to the ground, being sold to Mr. Willis, the builder of Mr. Stoughton's Colledge." The Judge was both a member of the Corporation of the College and a Commissioner of the society for converting and civilizing the Indians. His Journal bears abundant evidence that both of these objects of his deepest interest shared equally in his regard. Myths are apt to gather about all historical facts,

and they generally have some element of verisimilitude in them. Therefore, it may be allowable here to repeat what some romancer told old Josselyn; causing him to write in his account of his second voyage to Boston, in 1663, *that he was told* "that there was but two Fellowes in Harvard College, and one of them was an Indian."

As we shall have to notice further on, in following Mr. Sibley's pages, money, actual coin, was a very scarce article about the College in its early days, as indicated by the extraordinary barter business of the steward in arranging his accounts with the students and their parents. And real money then went a great way. We should probably, therefore, not greatly err if we conclude that the treasury of the honored corporation in England in behalf of the Indians was made directly and indirectly one of the chief sources of supply for the necessities of the College, and in helping towards the support of its primitive Faculty. The learned scholars, hard worked and living most frugally, in all their generations, as members of that society, have always welcomed any subsidiary aid for their shallow and light purses; and many of them have happily found trifling supplies of the sort, as authors, preachers, lecturers, or private teachers.

We have also incidentally brought before us a most forcible reminder of the precious hopes and the transcendent interests intrusted to the College for fulfilment and guardianship, in the anxiety which was felt from its very foundation that the Colony, which in its own straits and poverty had founded the seminary, should have a secure hold upon the life-service of those who might be trained in it. Ministers for the churches "when their present ministers should lie in the dust," was of course the paramount object, provision for which was had in view. But neither the expectations of the founders nor the training in the College had sole or exclusive reference to this object. From the first it was more and other than a theological seminary. Masters for grammar-schools, in which in turn new pupils should be prepared for the College, physicians and accomplished magistrates, who, without being professional lawyers,—a class of persons the fathers of Massachusetts did not wish or intend to have among them,—might still be skilled in the

forms of legislation and administration, were expected to constitute a fair proportion of the graduates. It was therefore understood that those graduates should remain in the Colony, or at least in some of the sister Colonies, and repay by their life-work and grateful sentiments the care which had provided for them the best academic training of the age even in the Old World. Indeed there was something more than an expectation to this effect, for an effort was made to enforce an implied covenant binding the gratitude and honor of the first alumni.

The Commissioners of the United Colonies, meeting at New Haven in September, 1646, in the third year of their combination, took care as to this implied covenant. They had previously, in 1644, in answer to a petition presented to them from Mr. Shepard, the minister of Cambridge, authorized an appeal for aid for the College from all the families of the confederated Colonies, even if it should be but a peck of corn from each. But now they passed the following "conclusion": —

"Whereas the Colonies at present affoorde some help towards the maintenance of some poore schollers in the Colledge at Cambridge in the Massachusetts, It was propounded and thought fitt that some course be taken with the parents and with such schollers themselves (as the case may require) that when they are furnished with learning, in some competent measure, they remove not into other Countries, but improve their present abillities for the service of the Colonies, and for this purpose the Commissioners for the Massachusetts were desired to advise with the generall Courte and Elders there for the orderinge such a course, and how such schollars may be employed and encouraged, when they leave the Colledge either in New Plantations, or as Schoole masters, or in ships, till they be called and fitted for other service."

The first President, Dunster, addressed a petition for advice and instructions to the Commissioners in 1647, and among other questions he asked whether scholars that have had help from the College, through the benefactions of the Colonies, "shall accounte themselves soe ingaged to stay in the Country, as that they may not goe away without offence, and if soe, then what way they may disingage themselves."

To this question the Commissioners reply as follows —

"It is apprehended by the Commissioners that those who have benefitt by the contributions of the Collonies should be engaged to attend the

service of the Country upon tender of imployment and maintenance suitable to their condition and the state of the Country ; but such tender being made, in case they do not acquiesce in what is presented, but for greater outward advantage or other respect chuse to depart, they should be engaged in convenient time to repay what they have received from the Colonies."

It does not appear that in any case a literal compliance with this condition was ever exacted of a graduate on his leaving the country. Some who went away, as far as anything is known to the contrary, seem to have been unmindful of their obligations to the College. But others remembered them, and gratefully did it service from their new homes in Europe or in the West Indies.

In a Declaration made by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1652, in behalf of the interests of the College, it is bluntly affirmed that "this Court find by manifest experience, that though the number of schollers at our colledge doth increase, yet as soone as they are growne upp, ready for publicke use, they leave the country, and seek for and accept of imployment elsewhere, so that if timely provision be not made it will tend much to the disparagement, if not to the ruin, of this commonwealth."

This melancholy utterance was made just ten years after the first class had graduated from the College. That short period had, however, been long enough to furnish what the troubled legislators called "experience" of a disappointment which greatly saddened them. They had indeed had reason for such feeling. The College had already sent forth more graduates than could find profitable or congenial employment here. But this is not the whole of the facts in the case. The circumstances of the time presented attractions and a field of activity abroad for many of those young and well-furnished scholars. And, indeed, the College had unwittingly been training its pupils for service in the mother-country, where influences and principles in accord with those of this wilderness Commonwealth had then a temporary sway.

One of the most pathetic and interesting passages in the "History of New England," by its noble governor, Winthrop, relates to the state of affairs at the time in England as bearing

upon the fortunes of the struggling Colony here. The sentences were evidently written under a deep depression of spirits, giving to the writer an eloquence of tender earnestness, and drawing out, in his own fixed resolutions of constancy to the undertaking to which he had consecrated himself, the assurance of his own elevated character. He had embarked his whole estate, and impoverished himself, in the great enterprise of exile. He had shared in and triumphed over the risks and perils of its early stages. He had stoutly held his courage and faith through the horrors of Indian warfare, the distractions of religious dissension, the jealousies attending the settling of a form of civil government which combined a curious mixture of the principles of a theocratic, an aristocratic, and a democratic system, and he had successfully so far used all his ingenuity, barely stopping short of artifice and subtlety, in thwarting the scheme of Laud's Commissioners to wrest the patent or charter of the Colony from its keeping.

But now he was compelled to face the possibility that so many of his associates, including some of the most capable and influential of them, were about abandoning the enterprise as to threaten its utter failure through their inconstancy. The following bears date in his Journal, June, 1641:—

“The Parliament of England setting upon a general reformation both of Church and State, the Earl of Strafford being beheaded, and the archbishop (our great enemy), and many others of the great officers and judges, bishops and others, imprisoned and called to account, this caused all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world, so as few coming to us, all foreign commodities grew scarce, and our own of no price. Corn would buy nothing. A cow which cost last year £20, might now be bought for £4 or £5, etc., and many gone out of the country, so as no man could pay his debts, nor the merchants make return into England for their commodities, which occasioned many there to speak evil of us.”

The simple truth was, that the ideas and methods of administration alike for Church and State, under which these New England Colonies had been planted and had thriven, were asserting their right to attempt an experimental trial on the broad field of the old realm. Some of our sturdier and more ambitious exiles and their sons wished to take a part in the

fracas, and such Englishmen as had been purposing to find an indulgence of their republican principles here, concluded to stay at home to attempt an establishment of them there. Even our own General Court thought it advisable to send over three of our own men of mark as agents to the Parliament, and "to give advice for the settling the right form of church discipline there." The governor's eldest son accompanied them, and forty others, who, not having any commission, nor any errand but that of the prompting of their own interest in the excitements of a political convulsion, are to be looked upon as simply deserters.

The devout governor refers to the same subject again in his Journal, in September, 1642. The depression in the Colony and the exodus from it still continued. Among those who returned to England, he takes especial note of "a magistrate, four ministers, and a schoolmaster, who would needs go against all advice." The governor, evidently with satisfaction, records the special providences, both by sea and land, which visited with protracted perils of shipwreck and starvation these uneasy wanderers. "Three of the ministers, with the schoolmaster, spake reproachfully of the people and of the country" which they had deserted. Winthrop thinks the party was saved from destruction by the prayers of the fourth minister, who, as an exception, "spake well of the people of the country." The writer follows the fortunes of other deserters to various places, to show how Divine judgments pursued them. He says there was "much disputation about liberty of removing for outward advantages, and all ways were sought for an open door to get out at; but it is to be feared many crept out at a broken wall."

It is immediately after these dismal relations of facts which seemed to threaten the continuance of the occupancy of this soil by white men, closed with a touching outburst of the governor's own spirit of loyal fidelity, that he takes note of the first Commencement at Harvard, October 9, 1642: "Nine bachelors commenced at Cambridge; they were young men of good hope, and performed their acts so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts."

But of these nine "bachelors," the first fruits of the College,

seven, as we shall see, left the country for better fortunes or more rewarding work abroad. Again, in 1645, the governor writes: "The scarcity of good ministers in England, and want of employment for our new graduates here, occasioned some of them to look abroad." Among these was Winthrop's nephew, the famous, but not honorable, George Downing. Of him we read: "He went in a ship to the West Indies to instruct the seamen. He went by Newfoundland, and so to Christophers and Barbados and Nevis, and being requested to preach in all these places, he gave such content, as he had large offers made to stay with them. But he continued in the ship to England, and being a very able scholar, and of a ready wit and fluent utterance, he was soon taken notice of, and called to be a preacher in Sir Thomas Fairfax his army, to Colonel Okye his regiment." The governor happily was spared, by his death, the knowledge of the subsequent career of his kinsman, conspicuous for high successes and worldly gains, but recreant to virtue and all nobleness.

The propitious occurrence of the first Commencement at Harvard was turned to good use by some friends of the Colony in Old England, with the help of those who went from here thither, immediately after it took place. This was the occasion of the publication in London of one of the most valuable of the little tracts relating to our early history. The title is "New England's First Fruits in Respect to the Progress of Learning in the Colledge at Cambridge, in Massachusetts Bay, &c.; published in London, in the Year 1643, by the instant Request of sundry Friends," &c. The beautiful proem to this precious tract cannot be too often quoted: "After God had carried us safe to New England, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessities for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civill government: one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust." It would appear from this tract that though the General Court had, in 1636, purposed to found the Colledge, and had voted £400, a sum equal to one year's rate for all the public expenses, for that object, the undertaking was not really

initiated till the death of John Harvard, two years afterwards. His munificent bequest was one half his estate, and his whole library. His estate in this tract is put at £1,700. "After him another gave £300, others after them cast in more, and the public hand of the State added the rest." Here was a bold use of the word *State*. It would seem unwarranted to question so positive an assertion in this tract, but if any other person gave £300 before the year 1643, we are ignorant of his name. The one building for the College is thus described: "The edifice is very faire and comely within and without, having in it a spacious hall: where they daily meet at Commons, Lectures and Exercises; and a large library with some books to it, the gifts of diverse of our friends, their chambers and studies also fitted for, and possessed by the students, and all other roomes of office necessary and convenient, with all needful offices thereto belonging." This must have been a very wonderful building: its ground plan, elevation, and internal disposing would be exceedingly interesting, if they had survived only on paper. The famous Captain Edward Johnson, author of "The Wonder Working Providence of Zion's Saviour in N. England," writing in 1651, is even more tantalizing in his description of this marvellous edifice. He says: "The building, thought by some to be too gorgeous for a wilderness, and yet too mean in others apprehensions for a Colledg, is at present inlarging by purchase of the neighbour houses, it hath the conveniences of a fair Hall, comfortable studies and a good Library."

We know, however, that this edifice became prematurely ruinous, leaky, and insufficient. President Dunster addressed both the General Court and the Commissioners of the United Colonies on this subject. Writing to the latter body, in 1647, he says: "Seing from the first euill contrivall of the Colledg buildinge there now ensues yearely decayes of the rooff, walls and foundation, &c." Recourse was had to temporary repairs. The Commissioners, in a letter to the corporation in England, in 1672, after bewailing "our bereavement by death of many aged and worthy Leaders in Church and Commonwealth that layed the foundation of these plantations," and the loss of the late President of the College, refer to their "discouragement

alsoe by the decay of theire buildings which were made in our Infancye, yett are now in a hopefull way to be againe supplied with an able Presedent, and also with a New building of bricke and stone" &c. This promised building was completed in 1677.

It would be an effort, in some part, of the imagination to present to ourselves the College yard under its first occupancy with one or more buildings. The site of the College has now become as convenient for its use as any other spot in the neighborhood of Boston would be, but it has been made thus convenient because of its occupancy for its purpose. At the first it must have been very inconvenient, and we are at a loss to find the reasons for its selection. It being understood that Boston was to be the metropolis, the site of the College certainly was not readily accessible from it. A river, more than double its present width, with reedy and sedgy shores, and great expanses of muddy flats, divided Cambridge from the peninsula. The ferry at Charlestown offered, in propitious weather, the readiest means of communication, though even that required a long detour for a hard road. Little skiffs—anticipating the sculls and shells of the present boat-clubs—plied vigorously for the transport of passengers on the Charles, and cattle and goods were moved on rafts. The causeways through both of what are now known as Cambridgeport and East Cambridge were treacherous and dangerous. As recently as 1729, Governor Burnet, while driving from Cambridge to Boston, over one of them, was overturned and thrown into the water, and died from the effects of it. The drive to Cambridge, over the Boston "Neck," through Roxbury, was long and circuitous, and even then the Charles was to be crossed, though at a narrower point. For a few weeks, in the coldest winters, there was a bridge of ice available for the venturesome. Provision was made for the keeping of a horse at Charlestown, for the President of the College.

Edward Johnson, before quoted, says that the settlement in Cambridge was surrounded by a pale "a mile and a half long, palisadoes of small trees driven into the ground and united by birch withes." This was for security against the Indians, and for the protection of cattle. The College plot was, of course,

included, which, besides the dwellings clustering on it and around it, was planted as an orchard. There was a slight elevation, called Watch Hill, near the site of the present Dane Hall, and on this stood the second, third, and fourth of the buildings successively erected for the place of worship for the inhabitants and the students. Another elevation in the present College yard, the site of Boylston Hall, was very early occupied by the parsonage.

Another edifice which won early fame, because of the excellence of the man, Elijah Corlet, who for more than forty years presided in it, may have been built on these grounds even before the first College hall. It is thus referred to in the tract published in London, in 1643, "N. England's First Fruits": "And by the side of the Colledge a faire Grammar Schoole for the training up of young schollars, and fitting of them for Academical learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge of this schoole. Master Corlet is the Mr. who hath very well approved himself for his abilities, dexterity and painfulness in teaching and education of the youths under him." This "Grammar Schoole" represented what we now call a high school. It would seem, also, that even earlier than this a building, or a room in a building, had been provided for elementary instruction; a "Dame's School," for beginners in the humanities.

The first class of graduates had been under a training which is thus described: "Over the Colledge is Master Dunster placed as President, a learned, conscionable and industrious man, who hath so trained up his pupils in the tongues and arts, and so seasoned them with the principles of divinity and christianity, that we have to our great comfort (and in truth) beyond our hopes, beheld their progress in learning and godlinesse also." When we consider the difficulties under which the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages were studied at that time, the deficiencies in the apparatus of learning, and the perplexities of the "Grammaticall, Logicall, and Rhetoricall" exercises, and the proficiency which was none the less rigidly exacted in them from the young candidates for a bachelor's degree, we may be justified in saying that the majority of the members of each graduating class, in our own time, would have found their

match in maintaining a "Thesis" or "Disputation" with the first nine of their predecessors.

The governor and "divers of the ministers" sent over the account of the first Commencement, in 1642, which is published in the little tract now referred to. It was a proud and a hopeful day when "the Governour, Magistrates and the Ministers from all parts, with all sorts of schollars, and others in great numbers were present, and did heare the exercises, which were Latine and Greeke Orations and Declamations, and Hebrew Analasis — and disputations in Logicall, Ethicall, Physicall, and Metaphysicall questions." The exercises were on a par with those of the English and Continental universities of the time, and many of the spectators and auditors had but lately passed through the same ordeal in them. It was doubtless a brave and exhilarating scene, rustic and rude in most of its accompaniments, amid the stumps of the recent forests, and with groups of half-clad natives looking on. The governor tells us that most of the guests present "dined at the college with the scholars' ordinary commons, which was done of purpose for the Students' encouragement, &c., and it gave good content to all." The banquet on this occasion, we may safely say, was relatively not inferior in material or array to some of the later ones there provided.

The readers of the volume now in our hands have for the first time the privilege and the opportunity of informing themselves as to the circumstances under which the earliest students were educated, their personal history and fortunes, the return which they made in the various forms of service to the best interests of the rising State, as they led off the long line of the alumni. The perusal of this book will sensibly add to the enjoyment which every graduate will henceforward derive from visiting the old grounds and halls.

Mr. Sibley furnishes us many particulars of interest regarding the character and devoted work of the first President, Dunster, as references are made to him in the memoirs of the graduates trained under him. He initiated and organized the method of study and discipline for the first years of the institution, and this so thoroughly and so acceptably to the views of its guardians, that this method appears to have been con-

tinued, with but few modifications, for a considerable period of years. That those who confided in him, and greatly honored him for his character and work, should have found it necessary to remove him from his place, was lamentable, but only natural and consistent. He was put into that place because his religious belief was in accord with that of the founders and guardians of the College, and thus fitted him to train up the young committed to him in the opinions and convictions identified with the government in Church and State. He changed his belief on a point then considered of fundamental and most vital importance. He, as well as his able successor, President Chauncy, was an accomplished scholar, after the pattern of those days. They would have been recognized at Cambridge or Oxford as equal in gifts and acquisitions to holding the headship of any college in either university.

Leonard Hoar, the third President, of the class of 1650, and the first of its graduates who was placed at the head of the College, though he left his office in less than three years, was a man of remarkable qualities. He married a daughter of John Lisle, a regicide, a distinguished lawyer, made by Cromwell a Commissioner of the Great Seal; and, afterwards, when he fled to Lausanne, assassinated by some Irish ruffians.

Hoar's wife's mother, the widow Alicia Lisle, was arraigned before the notorious Judge Jeffrey, on a charge of high treason, for humanely receiving into her house a lawyer and a clergyman suspected of complicity in Monmouth's insurrection. This feeble and exhausted old lady was beheaded in 1685.

Mr. Sibley copies a letter written from Cambridge, in 1672, by President Hoar to Robert Boyle, in London, which contains a very striking passage: "It hath pleased even all to assign the college for my Sparta. I desire I may adorn it; and thereby encourage the country in its utmost throes for its resuscitation from its ruins. And we still hope some helpers from our native land. A large well-sheltered garden and orchard for students addicted to planting; an ergasterium for mechanic fancies; and a laboratory chemical for those philosophers, that by their senses would culture their understandings, are in our design, for the students to spend their times of recreation in them; for readings or notions only are but husky provender."

Here certainly was a noble and comprehensive forethought, as to the various departments of knowledge, investigation, and occupation, in which this generous toiler in the day of small things would have the College expand. Botanic Garden, Scientific School, laboratories, gymnasium, have come in their time; but the vision of what was possible and desirable to the old seer into the future is not yet quite fulfilled in all its terms.

The method which Mr. Sibley has pursued in tracing the biographies of the graduates is so thorough, not to say exhaustive, as to be instructive and attractive. He makes us feel a warm personal interest in his subjects, and brings us into a personal acquaintance with them. Of course the graduates of the first classes were brought here in their childhood or youth by their parents, and might still regard Old England as their home. The careful readers of our history are able to trace a very marked difference in character, disposition, breadth of view, and extent of culture between the first colonists and the first generation of their children born on this soil. There was something liberalizing and expanding in the influences and memories clinging to those who had come from the green fields, the old collegiate halls, the cathedrals, and ivy-clad churches of the mother country, and who had shared in the games and festivities and household joys of youth there. The children first born on this soil were trained under a hard and rough discipline. There was a gloom in the wilderness which had its effect on their spirits. A rigid and austere form of piety, a harsh domestic oversight, a weary round of religious observances, encompassed their childhood. Their diet, their lodgings, their apparel, were coarse and comfortless. Yet there was much in their experiences, in the sacrifices which they had to make, in the efforts required of them, in the frugality of their habits, in the arduous toil of travelling from one place to another by Indian paths and the crossing of unbridged streams, that tended to develop manliness, vigor, self-dependence, and self-reliance. Each of the new and frontier settlements planted in the interior, where a river valley made labor easier and better rewarded it, looked to the College to furnish it with a man of intelligence and piety and practical wisdom, to be both its minister and its physician. Of the ninety-eight graduates

commemorated by Mr. Sibley, fifty-seven, at least, were ordained as ministers, besides those who preached; and many of these, like Michael Wigglesworth, the divine of Malden, and the Poet Laureate of the Puritan colony, practised physic to the acceptance, if not to the benefit, of the patients of those days.

Mr. Sibley's method is to give from the catalogue the names of the members of each class, with the subject of the thesis, whenever it is to be ascertained, on which each spoke when taking his bachelor's degree. He then traces the parentage, and, as far as possible, the circumstances of the early life of each, his course in College, and his studies there. The coming to light of some of the old account-books of the stewards and bursars makes amusing and piquant revelations of the ways and means for meeting the expenses of residence. Only the aristocrats of the time, and not by any means all of these, discharged their College dues in anything that could be called money. The steward must have had an extraordinary office, bureau, barn, slaughter-house, tannery, place of barter, or whatever it was, for exchanging and making available the commodities brought to him. President Rogers, when a student, appears to have driven a cow to this *omnium gatherum* of the steward; for he is charged with "pastor for his cow, befor hir apprisall." President Oakes, when a student, in 1653, is credited with "a calfe; a sheepe, beaffe, wheatte, Indian, malt, suger, lambs, &c." Some of the students received credits for "waytinge in the hall," and for "servic in the buttery." One paid partly "in peasse," and partly by furnishing "summeringe and winteringe of 8 sheepe." Indian corn was very soon established as a legal tender for currency, as well as "Peage," or "Wampum."

When Mr. Sibley has thus followed each of the graduates in his class through his College course, he traces out his subsequent career in life. This, we need hardly say, has been a laborious work, and has tasked the skill, the resources, the patience, and the practised acumen of this most diligent of the antiquarians among us. Of the classes of 1642-1658, included in this first volume of biographies, we must leave out the years 1644 and 1648, which furnished not a single graduate. The years 1652 and 1654 furnished only one each. About half of

the first ninety-eight graduates left the country, the majority of the earlier classes going abroad, the majority of the later ones remaining here. Of those who remained here the larger number became ministers of the Congregational churches in this and the other New England Colonies. These, too, were for the most part the writers and authors whose works, after the manner of Anthony à Wood, Mr. Sibley charges himself with the duty of presenting accurately by title and subject. We should add, however, that very many, also, of those who left the country were authors and writers abroad, some of them of works of importance at the time. These, of course, have due attention from Mr. Sibley. Of such of his subjects as remained to do their life-work here, especially as parish ministers, it was comparatively easy to construct a memoir. This work had been more or less performed for them at the time of the decease of each of them, though these early sketches admitted of or required supplementing. Parish records, gravestones, family Bibles, old letters, and all the other resources of the antiquarian have been drawn upon by Mr. Sibley. Indeed, he has contrived indirectly to present us, in the thoroughness of his method, with no inconsiderable portions of parish history, and with the details of the ecclesiastical and political systems of the Colonies. The usual proportion of the eccentric, the unsuccessful, the quarrelsome, and the unfortunate appear before us, with an occasional tragic story of a life. In the memoir of John Russell, the minister of Hadley, of the class of 1645, we have an interesting reference to the sheltering there of two of the members of the High Court of Justice which condemned Charles I., and an authentic account of the incident so romantically, but still with substantial fidelity, described in Scott's "Peveril of the Peak," and in Cooper's "Wish-ton-wish." In the memoir of Joseph Rowlandson, of the class of 1652, the minister of Lancaster, we have a thrilling relation of the Indian massacre in that town. The full and admirable sketch of the life and writings of Sir George Downing presents us with an account of an extraordinary career, however darkened and stained by hypocrisy, duplicity, and ingratitude. The memoir of George Stirk, of the class of 1646, who became a famous physician in London, doing efficient service in the time of the great plague,

to which he became a victim, and the account of his astrological and chemical writings, will absorb the attention of the reader. The account of Increase Mather, the most famous of the ministers in his generation, President of the College, and agent of the Colony at its most critical period at the British Court, — a serviceable and faithful man, who received hard measure in his own time, and has received the same since, — does infinite credit to Mr. Sibley for its fulness, its discrimination, and its impartiality. This one draught would of itself prove the superior fitness of the author for his task.

When Mr. Sibley comes to deal with the matter of his second volume, he will have to present to us the details of the most harrowing episode in the history of Massachusetts, connected with the witchcraft delusion. Of this the most conspicuous victim was the Rev. George Burroughs, of the class of 1670, an upright, faithful, and inoffensive man, a “muscular Christian.” His great physical strength was regarded as evidence of complicity with the Devil, and he was executed at Salem in 1692. Only one other graduate of Harvard, in all its history, has suffered the extreme penalty of law. He was, also, one of its professors.

Some few of the subjects of Mr. Sibley's pages appear only in name, as either here or abroad having had but a short or obscure life, and even an unrecorded date in death. But by far the larger portion, both here and abroad, were conspicuous and honored men, doing work worthy of record, filling quiet and modest, though laborious places of usefulness, serving their own generations, and sometimes those that followed them, fitted to do the work which their times and their associates needed should be done, and meeting the severe conditions of their lot with cheerfulness.

As to the publications from the pen of many of these old worthies, which Mr. Sibley has chronicled with such care and fidelity, perhaps only those which have an historical value are remembered or consulted in our days. They stand in a fair comparative average with the works of English, Scotch, and Dutch writers of the time. They certainly are on a level in scholarship and other qualities with most of the tracts and treatises whose titles were disposed after the names of their

authors, by Anthony à Wood. Bating a few noble works written for all time, the literature of those days has but scant claims on posterity. The library of the College, burned in 1764, of which we have no complete catalogue, contained the gatherings from its earlier and later friends. But one volume, from the library of John Harvard, which furnished its nucleus, was saved from the catastrophe. Doubtless its earliest books, given from the scanty stores of the exiles, were regarded as treasures, but they would be but very dry and husky mental fodder now. When Edward Everett was President of Harvard, he furnished from its archives, to Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, a list of the titles of the thirty-nine volumes given to the College by the first governor, his ancestor. In a note, accompanying the list, Mr. Everett writes: "With a few exceptions, I think I may congratulate you that your honored ancestor did not transmit them to you."

In a previous page we have taken note of the anxiety manifested by the founders and early benefactors of the College to secure to the Colony the benefits of the presence and service here, in Church and State, of its first graduates; and mention has been made of the attractions by which many of them were drawn to England in the turmoils of its political and religious convulsions. Of the class of 1642, seven of the nine alumni went, and, with one exception, remained abroad. Three of the four graduates of 1643 did the same. There were no graduates in 1644. Three of the seven graduates of 1645 left the country, as did two of the four which constituted the class of 1646. Six of the seven graduates of 1647 went abroad. The proportion from that date was generally less of those who sought to better their condition, or to exert a wider influence, by leaving New England, till we come to the classes of 1657 and 1658, each of which furnished seven graduates, all of whom remained on this side of the ocean. After that day, when the emigration to these Colonies commenced anew, a few of our stragglers returned, finding their livelihood, if not their necks, safer here than in England, when the old order, in Church and State, was to be revived.

A slight reference, from the materials gathered by Mr. Sibley, to the career of the first class of graduates, may close these

pages. The arrangement by which, down to our Revolutionary War, the names of the graduates were disposed on the catalogue, not in alphabetical order, but according to the social standing of those who bore them, puts Benjamin Woodbridge at the head of the long line. Cotton Mather calls him "the Leader of this whole Company: a Star of the first Magnitude in his Constellation." Calamy speaks of him as "a great Man every way: the first Graduate of the College: the lasting Glory as well as the first Fruits of that Academy." He was of honored parentage on both sides, and had been a commoner of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, before coming hither. He returned to Oxford, where he took a master's degree, in 1648. He was an author, and a learned and laborious preacher in high public stations; when, on being silenced as a non-conformist, he served in private till his death, after nearly forty years' work. He preached before King Charles II. once, as one of his Chaplains in Ordinary. Of Sir George Downing, the second on the list, an historic character, Mr. Sibley, as before remarked, furnishes an elaborate sketch. Though a man of unquestioned ability, and of some high qualities of statesmanship, he appears to have been wholly lacking in moral principle. His mother, a sister of Governor Winthrop, and herself a gentle and noble woman, did not spare her own sentence of judgment on the character of her son. He first appears in England as a preacher in Fairfax's army, then as a confidential member of Cromwell's staff. He was next sent on diplomatic missions to France and the Duke of Savoy, and finally as Minister to Holland, receiving his credentials from the pen of Milton, in which capacity he did great service as a negotiator and writer on the navigation laws. An observer of his course wrote to Clarendon that he was "as arrant a rascal as lives among men." Pepys calls him "a stingy fellow." He cunningly contrived to retain his ambassadorship under Charles II., and, at intervals, was in Parliament. As "a perfidious rogue" he procured the arrest and ruin of some of his old regicide patrons. He was enriched by a matrimonial union with the Howard family. Downing College, Cambridge, was founded from his wealth.

John Bulkley, who probably went to England with his classmate, Downing, served as a preacher, when, on being silenced, he became a physician.

William Hubbard, one of the two who remained in Massachusetts after graduating, wrote the History of New England.

Samuel Bellingham, son of one of the governors of Massachusetts, went to Europe, took the degree of Doctor of Medicine at Leyden, and then practised physic in London.

Henry Saltonstall, son of Sir Richard, took a medical degree at Padua, in 1649, and became a Fellow of New College, Oxford.

John Wilson remained here, serving more than forty years in the ministry.

Tobias Barnard went to England, and there we lose him.

Nathaniel Brewster, after serving as minister at Norfolk, England, and then under the Lord Deputy, in Ireland, where he received a degree at Dublin, returned here after the Restoration.

Samuel Mather, one of the four graduates of 1643, became Chaplain to the Lord Mayor of London, and preacher at Magdalen College, Oxford. He was Master of Arts, at Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, was one of Oliver's Commissioners to Scotland, and went to Ireland with Deputy Henry Cromwell. John Allin, of the same class, became Vicar of Rye, in Sussex, then a physician in London, serving during the Plague. He was a famous astrologer, and it would appear that, after a strangely varied career, he recrossed the ocean, and was a preacher in New Jersey.

So we might cull from Mr. Sibley's pages very many sketches of the lives and fortunes, some of them of romantic or thrilling interest, of men who, as youths, received their academic training in the primitive halls of Harvard, while as yet the "howling wilderness" environed the now historic grounds. The author is sure of receiving, for all coming time, the grateful appreciation of the sons of Harvard for what he has done, while the living will unite in the hope that he will yet pursue his work.

A stanza from Dr. Gilman's exquisite Ode, "Fair Harvard," written for its Second Centennial, rings in our remembrance:

"O Relic and Type of our ancestors' worth,
That has long kept their memory warm!
First flower of their wilderness! star of their night,
Calm rising through change and through storm!"

GEORGE E. ELLIS.